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 197 The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

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 197 The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery.

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 197 The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.

C /331 cont./

105 This migration had as its motive power the attraction
 175 which the metal riches of the Inca Empire exerted on the
 [67] Guarani, and perhaps also certain mystical factors (the myth
 [73] of the "Land without affliction").

/332/ The famous expedition of García is probably only an episode in this great migration.

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 [197] At the foot of the Andes the Guarani found a population
 [77] of Arawak speech, the Chané, whose civilization had felt strongly the influence of the tribes of southern Bolivia subject to the Inca.

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 [648] The Guarani exterminated part of the Chané, reduced the others to slavery, and took Chané women as wives.

• [563] The Chiriguano nation issued from this ethnic mixture.

[619] From a cultural point of view, the Chané exerted a decisive influence on the Chiriguano; and it is through them that
 [77] today certain aspects of the Inca civilization are continued by the Chiriguano.

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 [197] On their part the Chané adopted the language of their
 [97] conquerors, keeping for a long time their Arawak speech as a
 [98] secret language.

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 [175] Situation of the Chiriguano in the 18th Century
 [131] and Today

In the 18th century the territory of the Chiriguano can be defined as follows: "According to Jolis and Hervas, their domain extended from Tarija to the east a distance of 50 leagues (250 kilometers), and from north to south, 100 leagues (500 kilometers). Their frontiers were the following: In the north they reached 17° south latitude and advanced as far as the Jesuit missions of Chiquitos. In the south they reached 22° south latitude. In the region of Salinas, Itáu, and the upper Pilcomayo, they had as neighbors the Matakó-Mataguayó and the Toba. Toward the west they had establishments as far as Chichas, Pilaya, Laguna, and Valle Grande. Permanent

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p. 171 and Map 21). Their baskets being in bad shape, the Guarayú wanted to make some new ones and were very annoyed not to find in the region into which they had come the palm trees with pinnate leaves which they were in the habit of using for this purpose. Now, Guarayú and Chiriguano are brothers in race and language and emigrated at the same period from Paraguay to settle in the vicinity of the Andes. When leaving their country of origin, both were acquainted with this type of basket used by their ancestors, the Guarani, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, /440/ and still favored among their first cousins from Paraguay, the Kaingua (Métraux, 2, p. 206). The disappearance of this cultural element among the Chiriguano is due solely to the lack of appropriate raw materials.

In order to make up for the absence of back baskets, indispensable to a farming people /Fig. 98 appears here/ the Chiriguano borrowed from their neighbors in the Chaco, either the Mataco or the Choroti, the carrying nets (in Chiriguano: añapoka) whose use is so widespread among the latter and is so characteristic of their civilization. Carrying nets today are in general use among the Chiriguano, and in every village each family has at /Fig. 99 appears here/ least one (Figs. 98 and 99). In spite of this wide diffusion, the Chiriguano añapoka betrays its origin by its form and technique (see Figs. 100 and 101 /see pp. 283 - 285/), which are both found in the tribes we have just enumerated (Nordenskiöld, 9, p. 208, Technique I). Although considerably more advanced on the way to civilization than the seminomadic tribes of the Chaco, the Chiriguano do not by any means equal them /441/ in the art of making nets. The añapoka I collected cannot be compared with the deep bags which the Mataco or the Choroti, for example, make for the same purpose. In the village of Machareti, where Toba live with Chiriguano, it is the former who furnish the latter with the /Fig. 100 appears here/ carrying nets they need (see Fig. 99 /see p. 282/) (1).

1. Nordenskiöld (10, p. 163, Fig. 49 A) gives the detail of the technique of a Chiriguano carrying net. This technique is not found on any

[Text continues on p. 283]

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Consequently it was very natural that the race which was emigrating from Paraguay should seek out for its needs better lands which would permit it to make good use of its natural inclination to cultivate "Abati," maize, "Gũindaca," gourds, and "Cumanda," beans, because from the names that they give to all of these vegetables, it can be deduced that they did not get to know them after the discovery of America, but long before; and the same is true for the domestic animals, "Yaimba," dog, "Uru," /71/ chicken, "Minta," cat. What is certain is that the Chiriguano race has been distinguished and is distinguished from the others which still remain in the savage state, and the Toba, as well as the Mataco and the Choroti, regard the Chiriguano as nobles and masters, and they serve them in exchange for maize and other things, and there has never been a natural marriage involving a Chiriguano man or woman with the tribes named (1).

1. The Toba are more intelligent and more easily reduced than the Mataco; the latter were also exposed to the missionaries of San Antonio del Pilcomayo, located on its right bank.

The Toba have generally assisted their masters in wars and have lived for long periods among them, especially in the time of good and abundant crops. They did this before the missionaries opened Cuevo and Ivo to trade with the founding of the Santa Rosa and San Buenaventura missions, and they still do in the Franciscan missions of Machareti, Tigũipa, and Tariari, because they are near these tribes.

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The places that the Chiriguano selected for their residence after the migration were the mountainous one and the one visited by frequent rains, necessary so as not to lose the fruit of their labor, and in fact we do not see this race settled in places away from the mountain range, nor in impenetrable forest, good only for those tribes in a state of

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2. Tigüipa. -- This mission, dedicated to the universal Patron of the Church, the Patriarch St. Joseph, began its existence on May 20, 1872, the day when, for the first time, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated, and there was planted in its territory the Tree of Redemption; it is some 12 kilometers from Machareti, with quite a rough road.

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At present it has a population of 800 souls. The town, made up of both infidels and neophytes, is quite neat; the buildings are not very well arranged, and the ones which merit consideration are: its tall and beautiful church, broad and well-proportioned, with its magnificent choir, gilded altars, and well-turned railings; in addition, the beautiful mechanism of double trusses which support the roof. Its house is new, of a single story, and was begun in the month of August or July in the year 1910 and dedicated in March of this year; the other buildings neither follow any arrangement nor are of any worth, and lend to the whole a rather sad appearance, but once the renovation of both towns has been completed, the planned arrangement of the buildings for instruction and workshops will be made.

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Its panorama has nothing in particular: to the west, the last range of the Andes, to the north and south, some rather high hills rise at a short distance and obstruct the view for the curious observer, who, frustrated in his desire to see and observe, finds a slight relief to the east, where the horizon opens out and gladdens the heart; it seems to be the older sister of the San Pascual de Boicovo Mission. The climate is in general healthy, in spite of the fact that the mission is located in a hollow, but the water, or the location of the place, dulls the understanding of its residents, according to what all the travelers note (?). /Illustration appears here./

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2. In the years of abundance several nomadic tribes come to this mission and remain there serving the Chiriguano in exchange for food. Its elevation above sea level is 715 meters, and it is located at 20° 27' 18" south latitude and 62° 14' 44" longitude west of the meridian of Greenwich.

[text continues on p. 141]

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797 of the Indians (1).

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1. This mission, because it was the first one north of the Pilcomayo, was the target of the Chiriguano and Toba, who repeatedly tried to destroy it; its elevation above sea level is 662 meters, and it is located at $21^{\circ} 8' 27''$ south latitude and $62^{\circ} 17' 4''$ west of the meridian of Greenwich.

4. Aguiarenta. -- This mission was founded in the year 1849, and at the present time it is the oldest, because for a long time now Chimeo and the town of Itau have been elevated in rank to true Doctrinas /a curacy, also an Indian village newly consecrated to the Christian religion/. Three caciques of three parties joined together for the founding of Aguiarenta, since each one wanted the missionary in his town. The distance which separates the Aguiarenta mission from the one /104/ of Tarairi is more than 22 leagues by way of a quite level and wide road.

According to what has been described with some exaggeration and for not very good motives, Aguiarenta is the queen of the plains, the muse of poets, and the contemplation of the wise men; it is certain that its panorama is quite delightful, as are its meadows, full of fragrance because of the many orange groves. It has abundant water, which makes the land fertile, but it is not found at any great distance.

• [563] The settlers have been reduced to a few and are mixed
[191] with the whites; almost all speak the Spanish language well,
[177] and the customs and style of dress are like those of the mestizo settlers, in spite of the fact that an occasional one may be seen dressed in the old way (1).

1. By a decree of January 4, 1911, Aguiarenta has been declared a headquarters for troops, who have had possession of the place since the end of 1910. Nevertheless the Government

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144 Some explorers and travelers, after having happily concluded their investigative labors, have set down in their reports that the Chiriguano Indians have changed greatly in physique since the whites or Creoles entered their territory, but nothing could be less exact than this. Clandestine unions between Christian men and Chiriguano women have been quite rare, and even rarer are legitimate unions through Catholic marriage, from which generally comes propagation and change in races (2).

2. In 20 years of missionary life I have blessed but four marriages between Christian white men and Chiriguano neophytes.

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144 If Señor del Campano states that for a period of 40 years the Chiriguano have maintained themselves without change, on the basis of photographs taken in the year 1860, which were placed at his disposal by Professor Mantegazza, and those which the missionaries of Potosí and Tarija sent in 1898 to the Turin Exposition, among /111/ which was a skull collected by the author of this work in the fields of Curuyuqui and sold by Father Giannecchini to the Florence museum, what can be said by some missionaries who have grown old and who are growing old among these Indians and who know the race in old men and in young boys, in old women and in damsels, before and after the white Christians were introduced in number?

In my judgment the said change does not exist, because an occasional isolated case, an occasional family, where the mixture of the two races has taken place, cannot be adduced as proof that the physique of the race has varied greatly. Travelers and explorers pass through a region rapidly; they can devote little time to the study of a race, and consequently their written reports, worthy of all respect, are somewhat exaggerated, as were those of the Spaniards

C. *Cultural Elements which the Chané and Chiriguano have got from the Mataco, Toba, and other tribes in the Gran Chaco.*

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The Chané and Chiriguano have presumably not learnt much from their neighbours the Choroti, Toba, Mataco, and Tapiete, whose chief domestic industry is the caraguatá work, in which they have developed an astonishing skill. As we saw in Part I of this work, they have various different kinds of knitting, sewing, and plaiting. The Chiriguano and Chané, on the other hand, do very little caraguatá work, and the technique of their knitting is without much variety. I consider it likely that they learnt from the Chaco Indians the use of the bowstring made of shreds of hide, landing-nets of the type used here, the wooden needle with the line for stringing fish, the skin rug, the forked wooden spit, the use of the resin of palo santo for painting earthen vessels, and possibly the bat and ball game.

It is clear that more civilized Indians like the Chiriguano and Chané, when they come in contact with more primitive Indians, like the Mataco, Tapiete, and Choroti, do not imitate their ornaments, clothes, etc. I have already pointed this out in Part I. We must bear in mind that the Mataco sometimes work as servants for the Chané, and the Tapiete for the Chiriguano.¹⁾ These more cultured tribes would be more inclined to recognise the warlike Toba Indians as their likes.²⁾

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¹⁾ Among the Chiriguano (it does not exist among the Chané) it is characteristically only a boys' game, whereas among the less civilized tribes, the Mataco, Choroti etc., it is indulged in by grown-up men.

²⁾ NORDENSKIÖLD (8).

/161 cont. /

In the wilderness of the Chaco there still lives a Chiriguano chief, Cayuhuari, in whose village no white man has been. It is said to lie on a big lake. Large herds of horses and cows graze there; and the maize granaries are always full. The Indians are rich there, because no whites are there. At least so it is said. 173
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Cayuhuari, who has lived in the Chaco since the uprising in 1890, has an abducted white woman as a daughter-in-law. It is said that, with the Toba, he visited the sugar factories of northern Argentina. He had his daughter-in-law with him. The owners of the factory offered to rescue her from the Indians. "I do not want to leave them," she said. "With them I have my children." This answer honors her. 563 •

The manners and customs of the Chiriguano Indians have been described by several authors (4), mostly missionaries, 114
/162/ 797

4. We find most of the literature cited by Domenico del Campana: "Notizie," etc., loc. cit. /"Notizie intorno ai Ciriguani (Notes on the Chiriguano)," Arch. per L'Anthr. e la Etn. Firenze, 1902. Page 61. / [113]

so that we know more about them than about the Choroti and the Ashluslay.

A part of what I have reported about these Indians is not new, though seen in a new light. Nevertheless, various things, especially concerning religion, differ from the descriptions of the various missionaries. What I have gathered here is from the Chané, and the missionaries know the Chiriguano best.

What I do not like in the various descriptions of the Indians by the missionaries is that they seem to be striving to paint their shortcomings in colors that are all too faint, so that their own "civilizing work" may seem as important as possible. The missionaries seem to me to be unable to describe the religion of the Indians objectively.

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131 without our having any information on their stopping place.

Some Chorote live in the territory of the Chiriguano, near Yacuiba, and also, without counting the missions, the whole territory has been penetrated by whites and mestizos.

131 According to these data given by Nordenskiöld, the
174 territory of the Chiriguano, after their definitive subjection by the whites and up to the present time, has remained the same as that which they had at the time of their independence, except, it would seem, that they have come down more into the valleys and do not now live, as was stated in the 16th century documents, on top of the inaccessible mountains, which, as natural fortresses, offered them a secure refuge during their expeditions.

Towns and Houses

361 The arrangement of the towns and the form of the houses
177 of the Chiriguano are not at the present time the primordial ones, and they have probably passed through two different transformations, one after the other, first under the influence of the architecture of Inca culture and later the architecture of the whites. /15/ According to the Annua de la Compañia de Jesús Tucumán and Peru, of the year 1596, the Chiriguano towns were composed of only a few houses that were large enough to house as many as 100 persons. In his "Descripción breve de toda la tierra del Perú, Tucuman, Río de la Plata y Chile /A Brief Description of all the Land of Peru, Tucumán, Río de la Plata, and Chile/, " Father Lizarraga (56) describes the Chiriguano

56. Madrid, 1909. Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 15. Cited in Nordenskiöld.

towns in the following way: "The largest of the towns is one of five houses: the common number is three; but they are very long, more than 150 paces, with a two-sloped roof with posts in the middle, upon which the framework is constructed, and one kin group /parentela/ lives between one post and the next one."